UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3114
14 September 1992

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTEENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 14 September 1992, at 8.20 p.m.

President:	Mr. AYALA LASSO	(Ecuador)
Members:	Austria	Mr. HAJNOCZI
	Belgium	Mr. NOTERDAEME
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Daoyu
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	India	Mr. GHAREKHAN
	Japan	Mr. SEZAKI
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. PERKINS
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA
	Zimbabwe	Mr. MUMBENGEGWI

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the Security Council.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Office of Conference Services, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

92-61138 1103V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 8.20 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (S/24540)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, contained in document S/24540. Members also have before them document S/24554, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the delegations of Belgium, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

(The President)

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution ot the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. MUMBENGEGWI (Zimbabwe): It gives my delegation great pleasure, Sir, to see you presiding over the affairs of the Council for the month of September. We congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency and wish you all success during the remaining half of the month.

I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate Ambassador Li Daoyu on his very skilful and effective stewardship of the affairs of the Council during the month of August.

My delegation welcomes and supports the Secretary-General's report (S/24540), which represents a departure from resolution 770 (1992), which Zimbabwe was unable to support. In its paragraph 2, resolution 770 (1992) called upon States to take nationally or through regional agencies or arrangements all measures necessary to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance to all parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, outside the control of, and without being accountable to, the United Nations. It was precisely in objection to that invitation that my delegation abstained in the vote on that resolution.

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

In stating our position on that occasion, my delegation pointed out that any necessary measures taken, or arrangements made, to deal with the grave crisis in question had to be undertaken as a collective measure under the full control of, and with full accountability to, the United Nations. We abstained on resolution 770 (1992) precisely because paragraph 2 gave legitimacy to and made it possible for any State wishing to intervene in the affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the pretext of protecting the delivery of humanitarian assistance.

It was our considered view then, as it is now, that such general and uncontrolled authorization would aggravate an already grave and volatile situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

It is therefore unfortunate that the present enlargement of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) is being made in implementation of paragraph 2 of resolution 770 (1992), which raises the very same problems my delegation faced at the time that resolution was dealt with by the Council.

We are more than happy to support the recommendations of the Secretary-General; they represent a wise and thoughtful escape-route from the provisions of resolution 770 (1992). The Council should therefore have produced a draft resolution which was concise and with the sole objective of giving effect to the report of the Secretary-General.

We therefore find the insertion of the controversial provision of resolution 770 (1992) into the draft resolution before us truly regrettable. It is on the basis of those considerations that my delegation will not be able to support the draft resolution before us.

Mr. GHAREKHAN (India): Mr. President, let me say first of all how delighted my delegation and I are to have this opportunity once again to work under your leadership. We look forward to the remainder of this month with great anticipation, and we pledge you our full cooperation.

I also want to thank your predecessor in office, Ambassador Li Daoyu of China, for the manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the Security Council last month.

My delegation remains deeply disturbed at the very tragic and grave situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We are following the events in that unfortunate land with great attention and with great concern.

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

The London conference, which was presided over jointly by our Secretary-General and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, has raised the hopes of all of us, and certainly of us in India. We do expect that even the mild sense of optimism created by the London conference will lead to some more concrete and positive results in the days to come. We take some satisfaction in the fact that the London process is continuing in Geneva under the co-chairmanship of Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen.

In the meantime, my delegation recognizes that the humanitarian situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina continues to demand urgent and effective action by the international community, particularly by the Security Council. It is in that spirit that my delegation has always been willing to support all appropriate action by the Security Council. My delegation very much welcomed the report of the Secretary-General in document S/24540. My delegation has absolutely no hesitation in supporting the report of the Secretary-General and all the recommendations made by him in that report.

It is therefore with a deep sense of regret and, I might say, even some sense of anger with the sponsors of the draft resolution that they have not made it possible for my delegation to support the draft resolution in its present form. When resolution 770 (1992) was adopted by the Security Council, I made a statement in explanation of our vote at that time. My colleagues will recall that the Indian delegation could not support that resolution, for reasons which I mentioned then. It was very much our hope that on this occasion we would be in a position to vote in favour of the draft resolution, because we do want totally and unconditionally to support the Secretary-General's report and all the actions that he has recommended in it.

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

To our great regret, however, the sponsors have introduced certain elements - especially one element in operative paragraph 2 - that make it impossible for my delegation to vote in favour of the draft resolution. We tried very hard with the sponsors to have that reference deleted. I must say that the sponsors showed a lot of willingness to discuss the matter constructively with us, but they had their own compulsions, so we were told, and they could not accommodate my delegation's point of view.

In fact, the Secretary-General's report is a brilliant one, because it takes us away from the complications created by resolution 770 (1992). The report by itself would make it possible for all of us in the Council to support the action recommended by the Secretary-General. I would also like to congratulate the Secretary-General on his innovative approach as far as the financing of the operations is concerned. Certainly, none of us should complain if the additional tasks to be entrusted to the United Nations Protection Force under this resolution would be implemented at no cost to the Organization. I do hope that the countries that have so generously offered to finance the additional operation will continue to do so for as long as it takes and also that they will come forth with similar generous offers, perhaps for some other situations in the world.

As I explained to the sponsors, my delegation would have been in a position to support a straightforward resolution implementing the Secretary-General's recommendations, even under Chapter VII of the Charter. It would have been, in my delegation's view, more appropriate to do so in a straightforward manner and have the whole resolution under Chapter VII. Then it would satisfy the one concern that my delegation has consistently maintained: that whatever the Council does should be in strict conformity with the provisions of the Charter.

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

Now, with the introduction of the reference to the implementation of paragraph 2 of resolution 770 (1992) in operative paragraph 2 of this draft resolution, the whole purpose and objective of the Secretary-General's report, in my delegation's view, is somewhat distorted. Therefore, it is with great sadness and considerable anguish and distress that my delegation finds itself in the position of not being able to vote in favour of this draft resolution. But there should be no doubt in anybody's mind that we fully support the Secretary-General's report, and that we would have dearly wished to be in a position to be able to vote in favour of the draft resolution. We feel and are convinced that the international community must take energetic and effective action to bring humanitarian assistance to all those who are in need in all corners of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of India for his kind words addressed to me.

I now put the draft resolution (S/24554) to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Austria, Belgium, Cape Verde, Ecuador, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

Against: None

Abstaining: China, India, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The result of the voting is as follows: 12 in favour, none against, and 3 abstentions. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 776 (1992).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. LI Daoyu (China) (interpretation from Chinese): First of all, allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I believe that, under your able guidance, the work of Security Council will be crowned with success this month.

Recently, the international community has made positive efforts to find a political solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and particularly to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The international conference on the former Yugoslavia adopted a number of positions and agreements on this issue. The Chinese Government has always favoured and supported the peaceful settlement of the crisis. Historical experience has shown that war can hardly solve anything, be it ethnic conflict or inter-State dispute.

We believe that only through dialogue and negotiation will it be possible to find a truly lasting and reasonable solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, including the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The use of force in any form will only complicate the situation, sharpen differences, intensify hatreds, and make it more difficult to solve the problem. We strongly urge the parties concerned in Bosnia and Herzegovina to take advantage of the present favourable situation to reach a complete cease-fire immediately and to try to find negotiated solutions to all their differences and disputes through various means of dialogue, including international conferences. We also hope that all international efforts will contribute towards achieving this objective.

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

The Chinese Government and people are deeply concerned, and they feel profound sorrow over the huge loss of life and property and the large-scale displacement of persons caused by the bloody conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We support international humanitarian assistance to people of all ethnic groups in war-ravaged Bosnia and Herzegovina in an effort to ease their suffering. We particularly appreciate the valuable efforts undertaken by international humanitarian organizations and UNPROFOR in this regard. We appreciate and welcome the report submitted by the Secretary-General on this issue.

The resolution just adopted by the Security Council aims at enlarging the mandate of UNPROFOR in an effort to provide military support for the delivery of humanitarian assistance to Bosnia and Herzegovina. In principle, the Chinese delegation does not object to the strengthening of humanitarian-assistance activities, but the resolution at issue established a link between the enlargement of the mandate of UNPROFOR and the implementation of Security Council resolution 770 (1992). This is something we cannot accept. It is a well-known fact that the Chinese delegation abstained in the vote on resolution 770 (1992), which authorizes countries to use force in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Therefore, we cannot endorse any actions related to the implementation of this resolution. At the same time, we believe that UNPROFOR should, as a United Nations peace-keeping operation, follow the generally recognized guidelines established in past United Nations peace-keeping operations in implementing its mandate.

However, in this resolution, which provides for the new mandate of UNPROFOR, there are disturbing elements which depart from these guidelines. It must be noted that Security Council resolution 770 (1992) is a mandatory

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

action taken under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. We are concerned that linking this resolution with resolution 770 (1992) will change the non-mandatory nature of UNPROFOR as the United Nations peace-keeping operation. On the one hand, this resolution recognizes that UNPROFOR should observe the normal rules of engagement of United Nations peace-keeping operations in implementing its new mandate, namely to use force only in self-defence. On the other hand, the resolution approves the use of force in self-defence when troops are blocked by armed forces. We are concerned that UNPROFOR will run the risk of plunging into armed conflict.

It must also be noted that enlarging the mandate of UNPROFOR has not received the express consent of the parties concerned in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that the resolution does not provide for any periodic reports to the Council on the implementation of UNPROFOR's mandate. In view of the above, and given China's principled position on Security Council resolution 770 (1992) and on United Nations peace-keeping operations, the Chinese delegation abstained in the vote on Security Council resolution 776 (1992), just adopted.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of China for the kind words that he addressed to me.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): My delegation would like to join in the congratulations conveyed to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency, as well as in the expressions of gratitude to the Ambassador of China.

In adopting on 13 August last resolution 770 (1992), the Security Council defined the basis for resolute intervention by the international community to enable, by ensuring the safety of the convoys, the delivery of humanitarian aid to Bosnia and Herzegovina. We welcome the fact that

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

following the adoption of that resolution, and of consultations among the sponsors of this text and the Secretary-General, the latter should have put before our Council recommendations that are fully in keeping with our goals.

France unreservedly supports these recommendations, and that is why we supported the draft resolution to approve them. As we have already stated, along with other States members of the Western European Union, it is ready to provide a major contribution in troops and materials to implement the new mission that the Council has just entrusted to UNPROFOR.

But our action cannot be limited to that. The Government of France believes that the decision that we have just taken is but a stage - though a very important one - in the necessary stepping up of the United Nations action in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Other basic issues, such as the supervision of heavy weapons and air measures, both of which were the subject of an agreement among the participants in the London conference, seem to us to require urgent decisions by the Security Council.

In this respect, my delegation welcomes the fact that the report (S/24540) of the Secretary-General mentions in paragraph 12 the possibility of supervision by UNPROFOR of the implementation of the agreements covering heavy weapons. France deems it necessary that such a mission be entrusted to the United Nations and is prepared to associate itself with a draft resolution to that effect. We also believe that the Council should as soon as possible take a decision, in keeping with the London Agreements, to adopt a resolution on air measures, including the possibility of reconnaissance flights.

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate that cooperation of the parties to the conflict is essential to the success of our efforts. In particular, my delegation reiterates its appeal for full respect for the safety of all

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

persons participating, in such difficult circumstances, in the action undertaken to relieve the suffering of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its people.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of France for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. HAJNOCZI (Austria): Let me start by congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency. As we have already seen this month, the work of the Council benefits from your experienced leadership. My appreciation goes also to Ambassador Li Daoyu of China for the wise guidance he offered in presiding over the work of the Council last month.

Austria voted in favour of resolution 776 (1992), which considerably enlarges the mandate and the scope of UNPROFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Austria commends those countries that have indicated their intention to provide troops and materials. The humanitarian situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina is most pressing. It is bound to further deteriorate, especially with the coming of winter, which happens very early in this mountainous country. Therefore we see the utmost urgency for the implementation of this resolution.

We note that the financial arrangements are extraordinary, as are the conditions prevailing in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In our view, this unique way of financing does not therefore constitute a precedent for new peace-keeping operations. Austria, a country that is in the forefront of providing humanitarian assistance to Bosnia and Herzegovina, certainly welcomes the steps that will now be taken to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance. As the withholding of food and essential humanitarian goods is a central element in the policy of "ethnic cleansing" against the non-Serbian population, there can be no doubt of the need for armed protection of the

(Mr. Hajnoczi, Austria)

relevant convoys. Likewise, we welcome the fact that the mandate now includes providing protection to convoys of released detainees. While we understand that many of those who are subject to inhuman treatment in the camps will now wish to be brought abroad, we underline what was stated in the programme of action on humanitarian issues of the London Conference: that it is a primary objective to secure their release and return to their homes.

(Mr. Hajnoczi, Austria)

Thus we also see a need for protection for those released persons who of their own free will want to stay in Bosnia and Herzegovina. There can be no doubt that the Security Council will be called upon to adopt additional, concrete measures very soon in order to bring about the accomplishment of the commitments flowing from the documents of the London Conference.

Austria firmly hopes that a ban on military flights over Bosnia and Herzegovina can be adopted in the days to come. This measure would also increase the security of humanitarian assistance activities. Austria is deeply concerned about the non-compliance of the Serbian forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina with the commitment given in London by their leaders regarding the supervision of their heavy weapons by UNPROFOR. The international community will certainly have to act to bring about compliance in order to advance the process begun in London. My delegation would have preferred the present resolution to contain language on this crucial matter, all the more so as the report of the Secretary-General (S24540) addresses this issue.

Let me, furthermore, mention that the documents of the London Conference also envisage a tightening of the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, a task that will require action by the Council.

Finally, the next step of the Council should, in our view, be a recommendation to the General Assembly ending the incumbency of the United Nations seat of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia by Serbia and Montenegro.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Austria for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. ERDOS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): Our delegation adds its voice to those of our other colleagues to convey to your predecessor, Mr. Li Daoyu of China, and to yourself, Mr. President, our thanks for having conducted the work of the Council so skilfully and successfully.

My delegation voted in favour of the resolution that the Council has just adopted. We were motivated to do so by the same desire as we have felt since the beginning of the crisis in former Yugoslavia: the desire to contribute to the effectiveness of United Nations and international actions in the republics of the former federation. We therefore welcome the fact that the mandate and the strength of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia and Herzegovina have been expanded so that that peace-keeping force can discharge the difficult functions referred to in the Secretary-General's report (S/24540).

A long humanitarian road lies ahead before the situation of the civilian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina is normalized. We will need patience, perseverance and tenacity, and we are happy to note that the necessary funding to support the execution of the humanitarian tasks, under the direction of the world Organization, will be available, thanks to the offers made to the United Nations by several States. We nevertheless believe that our Organization should, as soon as possible, find itself in an adequate material situation in order to enable it to support the peace-keeping operations, which continue to proliferate throughout the world.

We wish to emphasize the importance of the Council's decision to consider additional measures to ensure the success of the UNPROFOR operation. We are confident that the Council will be equal to the task by facilitating and contributing to the implementation of the specific agreements concluded at the London Conference.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Hungary for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. PERKINS (United States of America): My delegation also joins those who have expressed congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of September, and expresses both thanks and congratulations to Ambassador Li Daoyu for his skilful stewardship during the month of August.

The United States welcomes the adoption of a new Security Council resolution today. In the face of immense difficulties, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) has struggled to help the cause of peace in Bosnia. This resolution provides UNPROFOR with the tools it needs to further its difficult mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The United States also notes that in paragraph 12 of his report of 10 September (S/24540), the Secretary-General stated that UNPROFOR could undertake the monitoring of heavy weapons in Bosnia if so instructed by the Council. We feel strongly that the Council should stand ready to act immediately upon the detailed instructions of the Secretary-General when he decides that it is time for UNPROFOR to assume this additional responsibility.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of the United States for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. NOTERDAEME (Belgium) (interpretation from French): Firstly, Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation and as other delegations have done I should like to congratulate you very sincerely on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We have full trust in your way of conducting our business, and you can count on the full cooperation of my delegation. I should also like to take this opportunity to tell

(Mr. Noterdaeme, Belgium)

Ambassador Li Daoyu that were are very grateful to him for the way in which he conducted the business of the Council last month.

My delegation voted in favour of this resolution for a very simple reason: developments on the ground show that military protection for humanitarian convoys in Bosnia has become absolutely essential. Furthermore, the parties to the conflict have recognized this fact themselves at the London Conference, and they have agreed on the need for military protection of humanitarian assistance.

Having said that, we believe that this is merely a stage: the Council decided, in operative paragraph 4 of the resolution, to remain actively seized of the matter and to consider, as required, what further steps might be necessary to ensure the safety of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and to enable it to fulfil its mandate. We are thinking of two measures to which the Council should give thought in the very near future: firstly, there is, in our opinion, a need to ban military flights over Bosnia territory - and I must just point out that the parties to the London Conference have undertaken to implement just such a cessation of military flights. I think that the Council will have to take steps in this direction very shortly. Secondly, we believe - and this is already clear from the report of the Secretary-General (S/24540) - that it will be essential for UNPROFOR to take steps at the appropriate time to supervise the heavy weaponry of the parties to the conflict very closely.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Belgium for his kind words addressed to me.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 9 p.m.

UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3115
18 September 1992

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTEENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 18 September 1992, at 1.05 p.m.

President:	Mr. AYALA LASSO	(Ecuador)
Members:	Austria	Mr. HOHENFELLNER
	Belgium	Mr. NOTERDAEME
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. JIN Yongjian
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	India	Mr. GHAREKHAN
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. WATSON
	Venezuela	Miss TRUJILLO
	Zimbabwe	Mr. MUMBENGEGWI

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92-61173 1145V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 1.20 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

FURTHER REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS ANGOLA VERIFICATION MISSION (UNAVEM II) (S/24556)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Angola in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Van Dunem "Mbinda" (Angola) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the further report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II), contained in document S/24556.

As a result of consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council has noted with appreciation the further report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) (S/24556), which it has studied carefully.

(The President)

"It reaffirms the importance it attaches to the full implementation of the Acordos de Paz para Angola, culminating in free and fair multi-party elections on 29 and 30 September 1992. It congratulates the Angolans on their success in maintaining the cease-fire and in registering the great majority of the population to vote in the elections. It is convinced of the irreversibility of this process.

"At the same time, the Council calls on the Angolan parties to take urgent and determined steps to complete certain essential measures. These include the demobilization of the remaining Government and UNITA troops, the collection and centralized storage of weapons, and the rapid completion of the formation of the new National Angolan Armed Forces. It is also essential that the police should operate as a neutral, national force.

"The Council is also concerned at the recent deterioration of the political and security situation in Angola. It endorses the Secretary-General's appeal to President dos Santos and Dr. Savimbi to exercise leadership at this critical juncture and to ensure that their followers act with restraint and tolerance. The Council is encouraged by the reports of positive decisions reached by the two leaders at their meeting on 7 September 1992 and urges them to implement these without delay. Of particular importance is their reported agreement in principle to the formation of a government of national reconciliation after the elections.

(The President)

"The Council calls upon the Angolan electoral authorities to ensure that all registered persons are given the opportunity to exercise their vote and to extend polling hours on the second day, if this should prove necessary. The Council also underlines the importance of adequate logistical planning and support and urges the donor community to move speedily to provide the remaining requirements identified in the Secretary-General's report.

"The Council is concerned that doubts have recently been expressed in Angola about UNAVEM's effectiveness and impartiality and welcomes the decision of the Secretary-General as expressed in paragraph 9 of his report to investigate thoroughly all matters raised in this regard. It expresses strong support for the Secretary-General and his Special Representative and commends UNAVEM II personnel, who are tackling their challenging tasks with courage, impartiality and dedication. It urges the Angolan parties to continue to cooperate closely with the United Nations and to take all necessary steps to ensure the security of United Nations personnel and property.

"The Council takes note of a reported agreement between the Government and UNITA that the United Nations should be asked to extend UNAVEM's presence in Angola during the period of transition after the elections. It will be prepared to consider such a request if it is based on wide support in Angola and if it proposes for UNAVEM a mandate which is clearly defined in scope and time.

"The Security Council will continue to keep the situation in Angola under close review and looks forward to a further report by the Secretary-General after the elections."

(The President)

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.

UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3116
19 September 1992

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTEENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Saturday, 19 September 1992, at 12.55 p.m.

President:	Mr. AYALA LASSO	(Ecuador)
Members:	Austria	Mr. HOHENFELLNER
	Belgium	Mr. NOTERDAEME
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Daoyu
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	India	Mr. GHAREKHAN
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. WATSON
	Venezuela	Mr. BIVERO
	Zimbabwe	Mr. MUMBENGEGWI

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92-61179 0044V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.55 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

DRAFT RESOLUTION CONTAINED IN DOCUMENT S/24570

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/24570, containing the text of a draft resolution submitted by Belgium, France, Morocco, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): The delegation of the Russian Federation is ready to support the draft resolution agreed upon by members of the Security Council in the course of their consultations, on the basis of the fact that the prevailing view in the international community is that none of the republics that have emerged in the place of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia can claim automatic continued membership in the United Nations. We agree that the

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, like other former Yugoslav republics, will have to apply for membership in the United Nations, and we will support such an application.

At the same time, we were unable to agree with the proposal, put forward by some States, that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should be excluded, formally or de facto, from membership in the United Nations. We are convinced that such a decision would have negative consequences for the process of the political settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, as it would break the channels of communication between our Organization and Belgrade. It would also be counterproductive with regard to the London Conference, since the United Nations, through its Secretary-General, is among the leaders of that process.

The compromise that has been reached - that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should not participate in the work of the General Assembly - may seem unsatisfactory to some. Frankly, we would have preferred not to have recourse to such a measure to influence the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, because even without this measure it is already experiencing sufficient pressure from the international community in the form of economic sanctions. But we have found it possible to agree to this gesture of condemnation by the world community on the understanding that in order to make a full contribution to the solution of the world problems discussed in the General Assembly, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must take all possible measures to bring about an early cessation of the fratricidal conflict in its region. It must effectively cooperate to promote national reconciliation and cooperation between the various ethnic groups.

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

At the same time, the decision to suspend the participation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the work of the General Assembly will in no way affect the possibility of participation by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the work of other organs of the United Nations, in particular the Security Council, nor will it affect the issuance of documents to it, the functioning of the Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the United Nations or the keeping of the nameplate with the name Yugoslavia in the General Assembly Hall and the rooms in which the Assembly's organs meet.

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

In short, since the decision of the Security Council does not provide for the expulsion of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from the United Nations, the measures taken with regard to it must remain strictly within the limits of the decision we are taking today.

We hope that this decision of the United Nations will be correctly understood by the leadership and people of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as an urgent appeal addressed to them by the world community to do everything necessary to bring about an early, peaceful settlement of the conflict.

Mr. GHAREKHAN (India): My delegation has two concerns in relation to the draft resolution contained in document S/24570, one substantive and one constitutional.

We are seriously concerned about the effect of a decision such as the one proposed in the draft resolution on the functioning - indeed, the fate - of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). The international community has invested vast financial and human resources in this operation, so meticulously crafted by the Secretary-General with the help of Mr. Cyrus Vance.

As the Secretary-General has pointed out in many of his reports, the cooperation of all the parties concerned is indispensable to the success of UNPROFOR, as indeed for any other peace-keeping operation. The practical impact of the draft resolution on the attitude of at least one of the parties involved towards UNPROFOR, in my delegation's view, is not likely to be helpful, to say the least, since UNPROFOR is not a Chapter VII operation, at least in Croatia. Indeed, we may be placing the entire process of peacemaking and peace-keeping in the former Yugoslavia in jeopardy.

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

Regarding the constitutional aspect, my delegation has consistently maintained that any action by the Council should be in strict conformity with the provisions of the Charter. That is the only way in which the prestige and credibility of this important organ can be preserved. There are specific provisions in the Charter regarding membership in the Organization. Questions of membership or rights and privileges of participation are matters of fundamental importance. This makes it all the more essential to adhere to the provisions of the Charter. The draft resolution, in my delegation's opinion, is flawed from this point of view. It does not conform to either Article 5 or Article 6 of the Charter, the only two Articles that deal with the issue which the draft resolution is attempting to address.

The Security Council, under the Charter, is competent to recommend either suspension or expulsion of a State. Nowhere in the Charter has the Security Council been given the authority to recommend to the General Assembly that a country's participation in the Assembly be withdrawn or suspended. That authority belongs to the General Assembly, which does not need any recommendation to that effect from the Security Council. Indeed, the General Assembly is under no legal obligation to act on any such recommendation, just as the Security Council is under no legal obligation to comply with the General Assembly's recommendations.

For these reasons, my delegation will not be in a position to support the draft resolution.

Mr. MUMBENGEGWI (Zimbabwe): It is the view of my delegation that the principles governing the admission to and suspension or expulsion of States from membership of the United Nations are clearly and unambiguously set out in Articles 4, 5 and 6 of the Charter. We have always held that where

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

membership of and participation in our Organization is concerned, these principles should be uniformly applied in the quest for universality that the founding fathers of the United Nations had in mind when they formulated these provisions.

In situations where States have broken up, as in the present case of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, each case has had its unique characteristics, which in the past have been regarded as extraneous to the question of membership of the United Nations. I refer here to such matters as succession by the constituent members of the State that has undergone reconfiguration or has changed its borders. A number of States Members of the United Nations are products of peaceful or sometimes violent disintegration of previous configurations. Never before has the question of succession been a subject raised here. This is not surprising, since nowhere in the Charter is the resolution of succession matters stipulated as a condition for membership of the United Nations.

In the past year Zimbabwe has unconditionally welcomed in our midst Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, three of the six republics that once constituted the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Zimbabwe supported the admission of these republics into the United Nations in the firm belief that it was only fair that all republics of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should share the membership of this universal body by each having a seat in the General Assembly.

It is a cause of considerable sadness to my delegation that the draft resolution before us seeks to deprive two republics of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which now constitute the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, of their right to participate in the work of the General Assembly.

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

Further, one would have thought that the elementary principles of fairness demand that when the Council is about to take such a momentous decision on the fate of a State that State should at least be afforded the opportunity to state its case. Although the draft resolution purports to invite the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to apply for membership, there does not seem to be the intention to admit it on the same basis as that on which other republics were admitted into the Organization.

It is significant that the text of the draft resolution before us makes no reference to any provisions of the Charter under which this action is being taken. Strict adherence to the provisions of the Charter has always been a source of protection for small States, and the increasing disregard for, or mutation of, Charter provisions causes us great concern. It would seem that the Charter's provisions are consistently ignored or applied selectively in the deliberations of our Council. My delegation has on previous occasions cautioned against the tendency to equate a majority vote in this Council as constituting international law. This tendency is bound to undermine the prestige and the moral authority of the Security Council.

Finally, Zimbabwe has consistently held the view that the Security Council and the United Nations should concentrate on the attainment of a negotiated political solution so as to bring lasting peace to what used to be the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

We therefore welcomed the initiative of the Secretary-General to involve the United Nations directly in the peacemaking process. The Secretary-General started the process in London as co-Chairman with Prime Minister Major. The process is continuing in Geneva under the mediation of Mr. Vance and Lord Owen.

It is important that we render all the support possible to the mediators to enhance their chances of success. My delegation is extremely doubtful that the draft resolution before us will positively contribute towards the success of the delicate peace process currently under way. For these reasons, my delegation regrets that it will not be able to support the draft resolution before us.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I now put the draft resolution (S/24570) to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Austria, Belgium, Cape Verde, Ecuador, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

Against: None

Abstaining: China, India, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The result of the voting is as follows: 12 in favour, none against, and 3 abstentions. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 777 (1992).

I shall now call on those representatives of the Council who wish to make statements after the voting.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): My delegation welcomes the adoption of resolution 777 (1992), which we sponsored with other members of the Council, on the status of Yugoslavia in the United Nations.

This text responds both to the requirements of the Charter and the needs of the moment. Indeed, it respects the apportioning of competence established by the Charter between the Security Council and the General Assembly. Furthermore, it adopts a pragmatic approach in keeping with the political situation following upon the London Conference. In this respect, it confirms and translates into reality the international community's rejection of the automatic continuation in the United Nations of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

At the same time, it preserves the future. Indeed, as the resolution we have just adopted recommends, non-participation in the work of the General Assembly by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia does not call into question the necessary continuation of dialogue in Geneva, within the framework of the implementation of the London Conference; in the field, in the light of the need for the cooperation of all the parties with the United Nations Protection Force; and of course here in New York. The maintenance of the presence of the Yugoslav delegation could, if necessary, be a useful element in discussions leading to a political solution, in particular when our Council comes to consider it.

Mr. WATSON (United States of America): We find ourselves in an unprecedented situation. For the first time, the United Nations is facing the dissolution of one of its Members without agreement by the successor States on the status of the original United Nations seat. Moreover, none of the former republics of the former Yugoslavia is so clearly a predominant portion of the

(Mr. Watson, United States)

original State as to be entitled to be treated as the continuation of that State. For these reasons, and in the absence of agreement among the former republics on this issue, my Government has made it clear all along that we cannot accept Serbia and Montenegro's claim to the former Yugoslavia's United Nations seat.

We are gratified that the current resolution endorses this view and recommends that the General Assembly take action to confirm that the membership of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has expired and that because Serbia and Montenegro is not the continuation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia it must apply for membership if it wishes to participate in the United Nations.

I would like to comment on the provision of the resolution that Serbia and Montenegro shall not participate in the work of the General Assembly. This provision flows inevitably from the determination by the Council and the General Assembly that Serbia and Montenegro is not the continuation of the former Yugoslavia and must apply for membership in the United Nations. To state the obvious, a country which is not a member of the United Nations cannot participate in the work of the General Assembly.

The resolution's call to have the Security Council review the matter once again before the end of the fall session of the General Assembly simply refers to a willingness on the part of the Council to consider an expected application from Serbia and Montenegro. The resolution makes it clear that, in the view of the Council Serbia and Montenegro, like any other new State, must apply for membership in the United Nations and should be held to the criteria in the United Nations Charter if it does so. The criteria require that the applicant be both willing and able to fulfil United Nations obligations, including compliance with Chapter VII Security Council resolutions.

(Mr. Watson, United States)

Finally, we believe that other bodies in the United Nations system should be guided by this action of the Security Council and the General Assembly on this matter.

Mr. LI Daoyu (China) (interpretation from Chinese): It has been China's consistent position that the continuation of the membership in the United Nations of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should be settled properly through consultations and negotiations among all parties of the former Yugoslavia. We hold that the former Yugoslavian republics should all be Members of the United Nations and that none of them should be excluded.

Such questions should be dealt with cautiously. Recently the international community, including the United Nations, has made positive efforts and achieved certain progress in seeking a fair and reasonable settlement of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. We should endeavour to maintain this momentum. It is our view that any action taken by the United Nations with regard to the membership of the former Yugoslavia in the United Nations should contribute to the relaxation of tension in that region and promote a political settlement brought about by genuine negotiations among the various parties concerned. To isolate any of the parties concerned will not be conducive to the settlement of the question. Based on that principled position, the Chinese delegation abstained on the resolution adopted by the Security Council.

Finally, I should like to point out that the resolution just adopted does not mean the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the United Nations. The name-plate "Yugoslavia" will be kept in the General Assembly hall. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will continue its participation in the work of United Nations bodies other than the General Assembly. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

will continue to issue its documents in the United Nations. It is our understanding that this is only a transitional arrangement. We hope that the membership of Yugoslavia will be settled in a proper manner and that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia eventually will have its place in the United Nations family.

Mr. BIVERO (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): Venezuela supported the Council's recommendation, on the understanding that neither it nor any later decision of the General Assembly shall prejudge in any way diplomatic recognition of those States arising from the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia, including the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and diplomatic relations between them and Member States.

Mr. HOHENFELLNER (Austria): The Austrian position with regard to the topic of resolution 777 (1992) has been clearly stated on a number of occasions. Let me only recall that there is no legal basis for an automatic continuation of the legal existence of the former, now defunct, Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia by the new federation of Serbia and Montenegro, which therefore cannot be considered to continue Yugoslav membership in the United Nations.

For eventual international recognition of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the criteria contained in the guidelines on the recognition of new States adopted by the Council of the European Communities on 16 December 1991 should be applied. In this respect, Austria draws special attention to the requirements of the protection of human rights and the rights of ethnic groups.

In accordance with its position, Austria voted in favour of resolution 777 (1992) and hopes that the General Assembly will speedily take the recommended action.

Mr. ERDÖS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): Hungary also welcomes the adoption of resolution 777 (1992). Indeed, we voted in favour of it.

My country's position, which has been officially stated, concurs with that contained in the resolution we have just adopted, namely, that the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has ceased to exist and that there is no automatic continuation of the membership of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the United Nations. I also note that we were not alone in taking this position in the international community.

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

We also take note of the Council's recommendation to the General Assembly to the effect that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should apply for membership in the United Nations. We believe that this application should be studied and decided upon in accordance with the same criteria which prevailed in the discussion of the admission to the United Nations of all the other successor States of the former Yugoslav Federation.

We hope that the leaders of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - Serbia and Montenegro - will draw the appropriate conclusions from the resolution the Council has just adopted, both at the international level and at the level of developments inside the former Yugoslavia itself, and that they will strive, including within the framework of the London Conference, to achieve a just and lasting solution to this bloody crisis and to ensure that a state of law, a democratic system, human rights and the rights of national minorities will prevail in Serbia and Montenegro and throughout the former Yugoslav Federation.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has just concluded the present stage of its consideration of this item. The Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.

UNITED
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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

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2 October 1992

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTEENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 2 October 1992, at 6.15 p.m.

President:	Mr. MERIMEE	(France)
Members:	Austria	Mr. HOHENFELLNER
	Belgium	Mr. NOTERDAEME
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Daoyu
	Ecuador	Mr. AYALA LASSO
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	India	Mr. GHAREKHAN
	Japan	Mr. SHIGEIE
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. PERKINS
	Venezuela	Mr. BIVERO
	Zimbabwe	Mr. MUMBENGEGWI

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The meeting was called to order at 6.15 p.m.

EXPRESSION OF THANKS TO THE RETIRING PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of October, I should like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. José Ayala Lasso, Permanent Representative of Ecuador to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of September 1992. I am sure I speak for all members of the Security Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Ayala Lasso for the great diplomatic skill and unfailing courtesy with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION BETWEEN IRAQ AND KUWAIT

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations. Members of the Council have before them document S/24605, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Belgium, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America. Hungary and Japan have also joined as sponsors of the draft resolution.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

(The President)

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. LI Daoyu (China) (interpretation from Chinese): First of all, Sir, I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. I am confident that under your outstanding guidance the Security Council will successfully complete its tasks for this month.

I should like also to express my thanks to your predecessor, Ambassador José Ayala Lasso, Permanent Representative of Ecuador to the United Nations, for his successful guidance of the Security Council last month.

The Chinese delegation believes that the issues of payments to the United Nations Compensation Fund, the costs of carrying out the tasks authorized by section C of resolution 687 (1991), the costs of the Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission and the financing of the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people should be resolved by making full use of the established United Nations machinery, through the implementation of Security Council resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991).

We have noted that the United Nations Secretariat and the Government of Iraq have, in accordance with those resolutions, held several rounds of negotiations on the export of Iraqi oil, and that they have made some progress. We have also noted that recently the Iraqi side has expressed its willingness to resume negotiations as soon as possible to resolve the remaining problems. We hope the relevant sides will resume the negotiations soon and reach agreement on the export of Iraqi oil at an early date so that the relevant Security Council resolutions can be effectively implemented.

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

In view of such circumstances, we believe it is unnecessary to take so extraordinary a measure as the seizure of frozen assets overseas. We should like also to point out that the seizure of a country's frozen assets abroad is a matter that concerns the sovereignty of that country and involves complicated legal implications.

Therefore, we believe the Council should be cautious on this matter.

For all those reasons, the Chinese delegation will abstain in the vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/24605.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of China for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. SNOUSSI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): I should like first of all to congratulate the retiring President, Mr. José Ayala Lasso, who conducted our business with rare courtesy and extraordinary judiciousness in his approach both to individuals and to affairs.

We wish the Permanent Representative of France every success in his presidency for the month of October.

My country has always welcomed the machinery set up by the Security Council to ensure the provision of humanitarian aid and other vital needs to the people of Iraq. In respect for the rules that have been laid down, and with a sense of discipline, Morocco did not hesitate to implement the most severe sanctions against a fraternal country.

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

After long months of hesitation, Iraq and the United Nations seem, however, to be moving towards a certain degree of cooperation. Ambassador Ekeus, who is known for his great reliability, came to our Council last week and told us that he was somewhat optimistic. He also spoke of the progress achieved. It is true that he stressed the difficulties that persist, but it was easy to conclude that the results, as a French leader has said, were by and large positive.

We expected a reasonably good outcome. Unfortunately, difficulties encountered at the talks here on the implementation of resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991) and also the negotiations on the Memorandum of Understanding led some members of the Council to contemplate a new draft resolution to replace temporarily the provisions of resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991). We certainly would have preferred to remain within the framework of the provisions of these resolutions, and to see more cooperation by the Iraqi Government. We are well aware that this attitude and this situation are largely connected with a lack of confidence on various sides.

We shall, nevertheless, vote in favour of the draft resolution (S/24605), in an attempt to create a bridge and renew dialogue, and in an attempt to explain to everyone concerned that we have lived through other conflicts where there was much deeper mistrust that have finally given way to concord, confidence and cooperation. But we wanted to take up this challenge anyway.

This being the case, we hope that this probationary and transitional period will be as short as possible. Our fears, as you know, Sir, concern the restrictions on covering humanitarian needs such as medicine and food, and also, of course, we want to see that lasting as short a time as possible.

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

For some days now, contacts have been resumed in New York on humanitarian questions. The principles of meetings have been worked out, and tomorrow the date for the resumption of the talks with Mr. Eliasson and Mr. Picco's replacement will be set.

The assertions made to us encourage us to hope for the best. We shall therefore vote in favour of this text as a reflection of our confidence in the Council and in what we have been told: that these are temporary short-term provisions - they are valid only as long as resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991) are not implemented. We have faith in the Council, and we are sure that it will strive to encourage Iraq to abide by its resolutions with the genuine purpose of ensuring for the Iraqi people, who have suffered so much, peace, security and tranquillity.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Morocco for the kind words he addressed to me.

I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Austria, Belgium, Cape Verde, Ecuador, France, Hungary, India, Japan, Morocco, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela, Zimbabwe

Against: None

Abstaining: China

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The result of the voting is as follows: 14 in favour, none against and 1 abstention. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 778 (1992).

I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to be allowed to make statements after the voting.

Mr. PERKINS (United States of America): Let me formally congratulate you, Sir, on assuming the role of President of the Security Council for the month of October and pledge my cooperation and that of my delegation. We also extend our thanks and appreciation to the representative of Ecuador for his role in guiding the Council during the last month.

Resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991) created a mechanism to fund United Nations operations mandated by resolution 687 (1991), as well as United Nations humanitarian relief operations in Iraq, from Iraqi oil sales.

Iraq's refusal to accept resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991) has prevented its own population from receiving humanitarian relief. Moreover, it has jeopardized the continued operations of the United Nations programmes mandated by resolution 687 (1991), which the Security Council instituted as part of its effort to restore peace and security to the region.

The resolution adopted by the Security Council today is a reasonable and proportionate response to Iraq's intransigence. It is based on the unique situation created by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and grounded on prior Security Council resolutions, including in particular resolutions 687 (1991), 706 (1991) and 712 (1991).

It borrows Iraqi assets, already identified by the Security Council in resolution 692 (1991), for contributions to the United Nations Compensation Commission to fund the escrow account created by resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991). As those two resolutions originally contemplated, the Secretary-General will then be able to use those funds to pay for United Nations operations such as the Special Commission, the Compensation Fund and humanitarian programmes.

(Mr. Perkins, United States)

The humanitarian efforts directly benefit the Iraqi people; and, like the other United Nations programmes, they were instituted in response to problems Iraq itself created.

It is therefore appropriate and consistent with resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991) to use Iraqi funds to pay for these operations as well as to pay for the consequences of Iraqi aggression. The resolution does not prevent Iraq from accepting resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991). On the contrary, it provides that if Iraq does so the Iraqi funds borrowed under this resolution, as well as voluntary contributions to the escrow account, will be completely and promptly returned.

Indeed, the United States hopes that Iraq accepts resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991) promptly; the sooner the better.

But we firmly believe that the Security Council was right in waiting no longer for Iraq to implement these resolutions. The needs of the Iraqi people and of the United Nations required the Security Council to ensure that these critical programmes are securely funded. This resolution accomplishes that aim.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of the United States for the kind words he addressed to me.

There are no other speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of this matter.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.